

CLASSIFICATION SECRET

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## INFORMATION REPORT

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1. Attached herewith on loan are the following documents:

- a. An account of a pitched battle staged between University of Tehran members of the Pan-Iran Society\* and University members of the Tudeh Party.
- b. Translations of two pamphlets published by the Pan-Iranists during the latter part of February 1951.

## 2. Kindly return the documents [REDACTED] by 1 June 1951.

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The Pan-Iran group was started in 1947 for the ostensible purpose of fostering Iranian nationalist sentiment. From the outset the movement took on an anti-Tudeh, anti-foreign, and anti-minority complexion. Its major strength is in Tehran University. The Pan-Iran Group does not appear to encourage the members of the student body to join indiscriminately. Instead, members of the Society, after carefully deciding whom they wish to affiliate, approach the individual and invite him to join.

The Pan-Iran Group publishes a weekly newspaper, Sasani, licensed by one Sadiq Behdad.

It is believed that the Razmara Government on occasions tried to use this organization to combat Tudeh influence in the University. It was also suspected that Pan-Iran had the cooperation of the Secret Police whenever it was necessary.

It has been reported that various Pan-Iran members have stated that Bahram Shahrokh, Dr. Matin Daftari, and Senator Fouladvand currently have a hand in directing the Pan-Iran movement, although this has not been confirmed.

The organization allows only students with high scholastic standing to join.

Encl: 3 documents.

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*Enclosure filed*

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February 24, 1951

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Student Strike at Tehran University

Early this week the election of the representatives of the Student Council of Tehran University took place. The only students really active in these elections are those of the Pan Iran group and the Tudeh group. The actual choice is usually made by less than 10 percent of the student body.

In the Law School there were no candidates and no representatives elected from the Tudeh group. This so incensed the Tudeh "sympathizers" among the Law School students that on Wednesday morning, February 21st, they went to their Tudeh friends in the Medical School and urged them to come out and help them "clean up on" the Pan Iran group at the law school.

The Tudeh group of the Medical School recognized this as an opportunity for considerable general confusion which they would hope to exploit for their own purposes. They therefore spread the idea that the medical student body should attack the Law School students and a considerable number turned out to get in the scrap. Most of them did not know why or for what they were fighting.

It was evidently quite a battle, one of the Law School students being seriously injured and 5 or 6 others also taken to the hospital. These casualties were suffering from knife wounds as well as bruises.

By Wednesday afternoon the whole University was closed, including the National Teachers College, School of Literature and the School of Science, which are located on the east campus 4 miles away from the main campus where the Medical School and the Law School are located. The students were said to be out on strike in protest over the way in which the elections in the Law School were carried out. This continued in somewhat irregular fashion over Thursday and many classes did not meet, although the University was not closed.

Of course the next day was Friday on which day the University and all offices are regularly closed. As at the present writing Saturday morning, February 24th, the situation is reported as being normal, with classes meeting as usual.

Some of the Faculty members have said that in the Law School there should have been included some Tudeh candidates in order to avoid charges of discrimination. They stated that the great majority of the students are not interested in these political disturbances and are not members of either Pan Iran or the Tudeh group.

Each college in the University is supposed to elect 2 representatives from each class so that the Student Council is composed of 60 or more elected representatives. The meetings where these elections took place are conducted in the University buildings without Faculty representatives present. This Student Council and the election of its members are authorized by the University regulations. The opposite is the case in the Elementary Schools and Middle Schools (corresponding to U.S. junior and senior high schools) where student organizations and election of student representatives is strictly forbidden.

The whole incident is simply indicative of the means employed by the Tudeh group to take advantage of every situation which arises.

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Student organizations were banned in the University some years ago and only recently have again been allowed. In this case, as in the recent disturbance at the Alborz Middle School, there are elements in the situation which indicate that the Iranian Government has been fostering the Pan Iran movement as an antidote for Tudeh activity.

**SECRET****PANIRANISM**

(A Summary of its Program and Aspirations)

The aspirations of the ideology of "Paniranism" are based on historic nationalism, because the doctrine of nationalism is the doctrine of the purity and originality of the nation.

Our doctrine is the doctrine of nationalism, which is the only leading factor for any national movement.

The doctrine of "Paniranism" therefore is based on social nationalism. Nationalism is the window through which we look at the world.

The main aspiration of our movement is the prospect of the residence of Iranians in their big native country.

The boundaries of our native country are not decided by the pacts and agreements concluded during the last 150 years. They are to be specified by the 2 historic facts: The residence of Iranian race and the historic rights of Iranians in regard to territorial problems.

The Iranian nation aspires to re-create its big native country and to secure its welfare.

Our movement announces the end of the historic sleep and the inert attitude of the Iranian nation.

Our rescue lies in the creation of a big Iran.

This ought to be the leading idea of world history to the ancient Iranian nation.

The Iranian plateau belongs to Iranians, and the efficiency of Iranian nation depends on the unity of this plateau.

Therefore this is the only target, aspiration and demand of Iranian nation:

The Plateau of Iran Under One Flag.

A Part of the Doctrine of "Paniranism".

The doctrine of "Paniranism" is the means and ways to raise all obstacles lying on the road leading towards our great aims.

The 5 essential points of the doctrine of "Paniranism" are as follows:

1. Way of life and habits.
  2. New national culture.
  3. Family.
  4. Government.
  5. Political problems.
1. To be alive means to grow up and be nourished by the traditions and culture of a nation, and to be effective in its future. The personality of an individual depends absolutely on the nation.

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pond with the historic dignity of that nation and be worthy of its aims and aspirations.

The influence of foreigners has and will take away the Iranian nation from its meritorious ways of living.

To imitate foreigners means to be taken away from national culture, national demands, and to choose the way of serfdom.

Our movement proclaims:

Life doesn't mean to be alive. In order to be alive we need ways of living, for life is not servitude and serfdom.

Habits and moral principles are founded on strong thoughts and national ideas. National habits and morality are free from weak thoughts. In national morality revenge is the expression of God's justice.

2. Culture is the product of the creative strength of a nation. It resembles to the soul of the skeleton of a nation. The vital strength of each nation depends on the influence and domination of national culture.

To rescue the national cultural elements from corruption, is equivalent to the rescue of the nation from deviation.

The existing weak thoughts and meditations cannot create a big Iran.

The culture of the Iranian big nation cannot be the parasite of or crumb-collector of foreign civilization.

Our movement will bring an end to this deviation, creating a new national culture.

Our national culture will be a mixture of ancient and new cultures. Our movement will revive and recreate our national traditions and customs.

The Iranian nation is the ensign-bearer of the new world culture, leaning on its ancient culture.

3. Family.

The doctrine of "Paniranism" has 3 ways of approaching and discussing this problem.

- A. What is the family.
- B. Problem of family.
- C. The future family.

a. Family is a social factor, whose fundamental purpose is to perpetuate the nation. Its element of composition is the individual.

The family is the factor of the maintenance of the race and its positive moral comprehensions.

To understand the comprehension of family, or the logic of nationalism, is to save the family from the penetration and influence of weak meditations and thoughts.

- b. Problem of family.

The deviation and the penetration of weak meditations into families has

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two reasons: Economic factors and propaganda factors.

The economic factor is born of high living standards, which is created first by lack of control on economic affairs, which permits non-Iranian and international elements to create economic special situations in the country, and second, as a consequence of the partition of our country, which has diminished the producing power and size of products, the administrative organization of the country has increased enormously, thus affecting the families.

The propaganda factors are the direct consequences of foreign moral influences, which have 2 sources:

1. The moral influence of France, based on the doctrine of individualism.
2. The penetration of the thoughts belonging to the Jewish world, including the prospect of a community lacking families in accordance with the philosophy of Marx, and the acquittal of evildoers of community by baseless thoughts and arguments.

These are the economic and social reasons causing the creation of weak meditations inside families.

c. The future family.

The doctrine of "Paniranism" explains explicitly the role of the family as follows:

The family is the strong unit of community. The future family has to become the hearth of love and devotion toward our native country, and the school for teaching national culture.

The family is the source of legal and moral injections of individuals.

The only unit for a nation is the family, as the nation is the only unit of human community.

The problem of women is connected to the family.

In the doctrine of "Paniranism" this is the only section where it is referred to the problem of women.

The greatest need felt for women is in the family or elsewhere?

This is the question to be answered.

Ministry, Parliament, factory and offices are not the everlasting factors of the revival of a nation. These will all pass.

The family is the everlasting unit of a nation.

The women will not find a title higher than that of motherhood.

This is the only road for women, avoiding deviation.

Their efforts must be concentrated on the rescue of family, for the sake of the creation and founding of the future family, nourished by national needs and aspirations.

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~~SECRET~~4. Government.

The strength of the government emanates from the aspirations of the nation.

The role of the government is to reveal the efficiency and competence of individuals and create a big apparatus, aimed at serving the nation.

The future government will be the protector and supporter of families, and will lean on their strength.

Party Government: Party government means the overcoming of the social strength of the party possessing high ideals, against deviated powers.

The only power which has a right to create party government is the one that is leaning on the ideals of Iranians, that is to say, "Paniranism".

Our Program:

The principles of the program of our future government are based on the doctrine of "Paniranism" and the demands and ideals of Iranian nation. No doubt that its realization and particulars will be subject to conditions of time and local circumstances.

Our present program is to educate the responsible elements and undertakers of the realization of tomorrow's program.

5. Political principles.

Politics is the road of a nation towards its ideals, and a means for the performance of its historic role.

To try to follow any policy, except that of "Paniranism", is equivalent to the ravishment of the self-governing right of Iranian nation.

Principles of internal policy.

The internal policy will be based on the realization of the doctrine of "Paniranism".

The problem of minorities: The problem of minorities is one of the greatest questions of internal policy. It is not a religious problem.

The internal policy ought to be based on the union of nation. Iranians are free to follow each to their ancient religions.

The problem of minorities depends on their descendant, considering whether they are Iranians or not, and what their future obligations are.

1. Zoroastrians.

They are pure and faithful Iranians. The plateau of Iran is their fatherland.

This mentioning of their name ought not cause a misunderstanding, because the difference of religion does not separate Iranians from each other.

The Iranian minorities residing in other countries are not the forgotten sons of Iran.

The fatherland desires their return.

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2. Jews.

They are not Iranians, and claim to have a separate country. The interests of this nation, according to their claim and the testimony of history, are separate from the interests of Iranian nation and are contradictory to them.

Therefore Jews cannot live with Iranians.

3. Armenians.

They are a separate nation who have had an ancient glorious fatherland. They desire the liberation of their big fatherland from the captivity of foreigners. This aspiration of Armenians is as just and rightful as any other national aspiration.

The Iranian nation expects to see the freedom and independence of every living and striving nation.

4. Assyrians. Assyrians residing in Iran who do not have any living place except Iran will maintain their national unity, but we have to be careful not to allow enemies to make use of them against us, taking an advantage of their non-Iranian descent.

Principles of Foreign policy.

The foreign policy of big Iran, like all living nations, has to be based on the protection of its existence and unity.

Foreign Relations.

The pacts and agreements concluded during recent 150 years cannot serve as basis for foreign relations. They have to be abolished all, and then new relationships established.

Doctrine of National Struggle.

1. Elements who will carry on the struggle.

2. Fronts of struggle.

3. Leadership.

4. Nature of struggle.

1. The movement cannot possibly make use of wornout and disappointed powers. The youth will be the active element of the struggle.

The young generation has to lean on national aspirations and destroy everything that has been the cause of the weakness of Iranian nation during its partition.

The motto of the doctrine of national struggle is: Onward, Youth of Big Iran!

The belief for the foundations of national struggle has to be established in the families of young men and this is the way to make the struggle everlasting.

2. Fronts of struggle.

The important condition for entering into a battlefront is to recognize the enemy. The enemy is not the Iranian nation, but the foreign powers who are mistaken in its recognition.

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Isn't it treason, when national enemies are considered as allies and friends?

Any factor which opposes the national thought, the ideals of "Paniranism" and the doctrine of national struggle is the enemy of Iranian nation.

Each nation that is awake has only one obligation: the protection of its interests and nothing else.

Those nations which do not accept this comprehension will be the toys of powerful nations.

Enmity is concealed in the construction of each alien.

A foreigner will not be enemy when he is not able to cause injury.

Consequently, there is not any need of mentioning that Russians, the British and Americans are our permanent enemies. We have to bear in mind that they are foreigners.

Then we come to the question that whether to carry on struggle against enemies means to fight with all foreigners? This is something impossible for any nation. The doctrine of national struggle has to recognize its fronts of opposition.

The termination of foreign influence means the end of the existence of traitors and anti-national elements.

The following are the 3 fronts of our enemies:

1. Enemies of national meditations.

a. The Jews.

The Jews cannot have belief in regard to our nationality, and they are the means of world communication and the permanent hearth of thoughts that are not national.

The Jew cannot sacrifice his interest in favor of our interests. he is a strong supporter of individualism. And because individualism considers the country as a big economic institution, therefore it is the ideal of the Jews.

The worldwide organization of Jews is the source of every anti-national thought.

b. The Bahais.

The community of Bahais is a new asylum for Jews.

The community of Bahis and its different branches are offsprings of foreign politics, especially British, and they are distributors of international evil thoughts.

Bahai is an international element which propagates its anti-national thoughts under the mask of religion.

c. Communists.

Communism is the weak meditation of the era of retrogress and collapse.

Communism is the political instrument of Russian world domination.

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Communism is the destroyer of Socialism by means of individualism.

Communism is the creation of the annihilating desire of the Jewish race.

Communism, with all its contents, is composed of international and anti-national thoughts.

2. Enemies of the ideology of "Paniranism".

a. Russians.

Ravishers of northern provinces, jailers of our compatriots from the Caucasus to Tadzhikistan.

The abundance of Baku's oil and the productive lands of the northern parts of Iranian plateau do not allow to understand correctly the procedure of history.

b. The British.

Creators of a puppet and divided governments.

The British and their opponents have to be aware that the protection of their interests in India and Middle East will not create new nations.

c. The Pan-Turkists.

"Pan-Turkism" is the foolish claim of the Turks of Osmanian collapsed Imperial dynasty.

The front of "Pan-Turkism" is the result of blind vision in the history of Azerbaijan and Caucasus.

d. "Pan-Arabism".

"Pan-Arabism" is the political instrument of the British in Near and Middle East.

The pretention of "Pan-Arabism" to "Pan-Islamism" does not acquit it.

"Pan-Islamism" means the numerical superiority of Arabian units and supporters of the British on Iranian nation.

"Pan-Islamism", from the viewpoint of meditation, is the product of the erroneous principle claiming that nationality means religion.

3. Enemies of doctrine of national struggle.

The ruling class is the remainder of the past government which has been deviated from national ideals.

The doctrine of national struggle is leaning on national ideals, but the ruling class leans on personal accounts and is spiteful.

The ruling class is responsible for the partition of our big fatherland.

It is the confirmer of this state of partition.

It is the representative of internal and external enemies.

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The future plan is to lay the foundations of a party government on the ruins of present ruling class in the Iranian plateau.

### 3. Leadership.

The organization of the apparatus of leadership has to be based on 4 principles.

1. Responsibility, with specified limits.
2. Making use of general voting.
3. Connection of affairs.
4. Cooperation of forces.

No one can join the leadership of the union provided he possesses these 2 conditions:

1. Complete belief regarding the ideals and meditations of "Pan-Iranism" government.
2. Obedience to the regulations and laws of the organization.

This apparatus has to be free of personal sympathies and antipathies. Its members have to be subject to the general policy.

Organization is not for members, but members are for organization.

An organization founded thus will not be engaged anymore creating belief in men, but it will be a center of activity for those who already possess a complete belief in the ideas concerned.

### 4. Nature of struggle.

Individualism and worship of men is a creation of our enemies.

The idea of individualism, based on weak arguments and thoughts, cannot create high ideals.

Expression of views has to correspond to the comprehensive power of people, not to their will.

The aim of expressing views has to be the creation of a social movement for leading the nation towards its historic role.

### Ways of Propaganda.

Propaganda has to be positive, explicit and plain.

The purpose of propaganda is not to discuss matters and express different views. Its objective is to expand and propagate a redeeming thought.

Propaganda is for specification and restriction of values and social judgments.

Explicit propaganda means to reveal the facts without the slightest consideration. In this kind of propaganda the enemy will never be shown as an ally or friend.

In propaganda carried on explicitly, the diplomatic considerations and courtesies will not be preferred to the recognition and explanation of the borders and limits of the country to our compatriots.

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Propaganda done explicitly is always subject to this motto:

To find out the truth, to state the truth, and to follow it.

The social view of a struggling organization is the reply to this answer:

What is the main reason of this misery and which is the road to rescue?

The corruption of present government apparatus, which has resulted in the partition of Iran.

The "Pan-Iranism" movement is the only means for saving Iranian nation.

Your rescue depends on the creation of a big Iran and a big Iran needs high ideals.

In case we are asked with which organizations can you cooperate or with which institutions do you agree--our reply will be: We are against all existing corrupted institutions. This is the voice of "Pan-Iranism" movement.

Instructions:

1. No need to mention that by these thoughts and ideas, coalition doesn't mean much to us. This organization is not ready to change or cancel a part of its ideology for establishing a coalition with another group. Our cooperation with any group will take place only by the unconditional annexation of that group to our organization, for every responsible authority has to bear in mind that "coalition is an error".
2. In case during our struggle a number of the members of opposition wished to take part in it, obviously there are the ones who have to follow our organization and not we. For this temporary cooperation no compromises could be foreseen. A nationalist will remain a nationalist even among his old enemies and temporary comrades.
3. We reveal truths, defend them, lead those who are misled, but if somebody ridicules our ideas, his answer will not be a peaceful discussion of the matter, but only a punch.
4. Little mistakes, faults and deviations are not pardonable.

Those groups which appear with deviated and unvaluable ideas, have no effect on the public opinion. The best thing to do would be either prevent their appearance or compel them to join to one of the rows of our big enemies.

5. Parliament is a means either for promotion into the apparatus of ruling class, or is a place for effective propaganda. Therefore whoever doesn't go to Parliament for propaganda purposes, his aim is to approach and join the ruling class.

Now everybody can select his way.

Long Live Iran

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Long Live Iran )

Everything for Iran (on the flag) )

On the cover

Onward, until we reach our borders. )

Program of "Nabardeh Iran" Party.

Based on doctrine of "Pan-Iranism".

Our Objective.

1. Iran under one flag.
2. We bring to an end the present partition by gathering all Iranians in the land of Iran and by expelling foreigners from this land.
3. We support party government and offer the rule of the country to the followers of the strong party of "Nabardeh Iran".
4. We will provide a peaceful living for each Iranian from his cradle to grave. We will provide also means of health, childbirth, nourishment, education, employment and marriage.
5. We will abolish big capitalistic and land-owning systems, and we will deliver capital to families under the supervision of the government.
6. We will leave each Iranian free in his thoughts, speech and actions to the extent it is in favor of the interests of the country.
7. We have respect for freedom of nations, and opposing international ideas always and every where, we will appreciate national thoughts.

Our Road: Union, Revolution, Revenge.

(On Back Cover): Map of Iran, including part of Caucasus, Russian Turkestan, Afghanistan, etc. Written below map: Big Iran needs big ideals.